

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00

NSC-05 BIB-01 ACDE-00 /100 W
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P R 171646Z APR 75

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0962

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0194

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: STATEMENT GIVEN BY THE NETHERLANDS REP
DE VOS AT THE APRIL 17 ALLIED PRESS CONFERENCE

THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF THE OPENING STATEMENT, GIVEN
BY THE ALLIED SPOKESMAN (NETHERLANDS REP DE VOS) AT THE
APRIL 17 POST-PLENARY ALLIED PRESS CONFERENCE. THE
STATEMENT WAS APPROVED AT THE APRIL 16 MEETING OF THE
AD HOC GROUP.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. NEGOTIATIONS HAVE NOW BEEN GOING ON FOR APPROXIMATELY
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A YEAR AND A HALF. IT SEEMS APPROPRIATE AT THE END OF THIS

FIFTH ROUND TO TAKE STOCK OF WHERE THE TALKS NOW STAND.

2. I CANNOT REPORT THAT THE OUTLINES OF AN AGREEMENT ARE IN SIGHT. BUT WE REMAIN HOPEFUL. THE TONE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUES TO BE BUSINESSLIKE, AND WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS CONTINUE TO BE SERIOUSLY INTERESTED IN REACHING AGREEMENT.

3. THE DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE OVER THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF, HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT THE EAST AND WEST HAVE DIFFERENT APPROACHES. THIS WAS NOT UNEXPECTED AND IT IS NO SURPRISE THAT IT HAS PROVED DIFFICULT TO MAKE PROGRESS.

4. THROUGHOUT THESE NEGOTIATIONS, THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE SOUGHT TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY TOWARD AN AGREEMENT WHICH MEETS THE AGREED GOALS OF ENHANCED STABILITY AND STRENGTHENED SECURITY IN EUROPE AT LOWER FORCE LEVELS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. THE BASIC DESTABILIZING FACTOR IN THE SECURITY SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE IS THE EASTERN SUPERIORITY IN GROUND FORCES. THE EAST HAS ABOUT 150,000 MORE SOLDIERS AND ABOUT 9,500 MORE TANKS THAN THE WEST IN THE AREA. AT THE OUTSET OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WE PUT FORWARD A CONCRETE PROGRAM WHICH WOULD ELIMINATE OR REDUCE THESE DISPARITIES IN TWO SUCCESSIVE PHASES OF NEGOTIATION LEADING TO A COMMON CEILING FOR OVERALL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER, WHICH WE HAVE SUGGESTED COULD BE SET AT 700,000 MEN FOR EACH SIDE. THE FIRST PHASE WOULD INCLUDE REDUCTIONS BY UNITED STATES AND SOVIET FORCES ONLY, AND IN THE SECOND PHASE REMAINING PARTICIPANTS WITH FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WOULD PARTICIPATE IN REDUCTIONS. WE HAVE ALSO PROPOSED THAT THE COMMON CEILING SHOULD BE OF A COLLECTIVE CHARACTER, SO AS TO AVOID INTERFERENCE WITH NATO INTEGRATED DEFENSE CO-OPERATION OR PREJUDICE TO THE FUTURE ORGANIZATION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENSE.

5. OVER THE PAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS, WE HAVE PROCEEDED TO DEVELOP OUR POSITION IN THE INTEREST OF FINDING A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR AGREEMENT.

6. FIRST OF ALL, WE HAVE GIVEN THE EASTERN SIDE KEY DATA
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ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND TANKS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. WE HAVE ALSO OFFERED TO EXCHANGE DATA ON AIR MANPOWER LEVELS. WE HAVE INVITED EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES TO RECIPROCATATE BY PUTTING FORWARD THEIR DATA ON GROUND AND AIR FORCES AND ENTER INTO A DISCUSSION OF THESE DATA. OUR PURPOSE HAS BEEN TO ARRIVE AT A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE FACTS OF THE SITUATION ABOUT WHICH WE ARE NEGOTIATING.

7. NEXT, WE HAVE ADDED CERTAIN NEW ELEMENTS TO OUR PRO-
POSALS IN ORDER TO MEET EXPRESSED EASTERN CONCERNS ABOUT THE
KEY ISSUE OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET.
OUR POSITION REMAINS THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET
UNION SHOULD AGREE TO SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS AND IMPLEMENT
THEM BEFORE OTHER PARTICIPANTS WITH FORCES IN THE AREA AGREE
ON THE SPECIFIC DETAILS OF THEIR REDUCTIONS. BUT IN ORDER
TO PROVIDE REASONABLE ASSURANCE TO THE EASTERN SIDE ON THE

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

SECOND STAGE, WE HAVE PROPOSED COMMITMENTS ON THE TIMING
OF SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE SUBSEQUENT REVIEW OF
THEIR PROGRESS. NATURALLY, IF, AS WE PROPOSE, ALL
PARTICIPANTS WILL UNDERTAKE IN THE FIRST PHASE A COMMITMENT
TO A COMMON CEILING, THIS IN ITSELF WILL CONSTITUTE A
COMMITMENT TO THE SECOND PHASE.

8. WE HAVE PUT FORWARD SPECIFIC PROPOSALS, NOT ONLY ON REDUCTIONS, BUT ALSO ON CERTAIN OTHER ESSENTIAL ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECT MATTER. THE SUBJECT OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, AGREED DURING THE PREPARATORY TALKS TWO YEARS AGO, INCLUDES NOT ONLY THE "MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS" BUT ALSO "ASSOCIATED MEASURES". WE CONSIDER THAT THESE TWO IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECT MATTER COMPLEMENT EACH OTHER. AGREED
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FORCE REDUCTIONS WOULD CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CHANGE IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH BOTH SIDES ACT TO PRESERVE THEIR SECURITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD HAVE ACCEPTED CERTAIN CONTRACTUAL LIMITATIONS ON THEIR FREEDOM OF ACTION TO INCREASE THEIR FORCES IN THE AREA TO RESPOND TO AMBIGUOUS SITUATIONS. THUS, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO AGREE ON MEASURES LIMITING EXERCISES AND FORCE MOVEMENTS SO AS TO REDUCE THE RISK THAT AMBIGUITIES IN THE ACTIVITIES OF FORCES REMAINING AFTER REDUCTIONS ARE CARRIED OUT CREATE CONCERN, MISUNDERSTANDING AND INSTABILITY.

9. MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEIR FLEXIBILITY BY MAKING IMPORTANT SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES IN THEIR PROPOSALS TO MEET CERTAIN EASTERN REQUIREMENTS. THE EAST HAS CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD UNDERTAKE SPECIFIC REDUCTION COMMITMENTS TOGETHER FROM THE OUTSET - THAT IS, IN A FIRST AGREEMENT. IN THE INTEREST OF ACHIEVING PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, WE DECIDED TO MEET THE EAST HALF WAY. FIRST, WE HAVE OFFERED A COMMITMENT THAT ALL THE REMAINING NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL PARTICIPATE IN REDUCTIONS TO AN AGREED COMMON CEILING IN THE SECOND PHASE. AND SECOND, WE HAVE OFFERED A MUTUAL COMMITMENT NOT TO INCREASE THE OVERALL LEVEL OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ON EACH SIDE BETWEEN THE TWO PHASES IN ORDER TO COMPLEMENT A SATISFACTORY FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR SUBSTANTIAL US AND SOVIET WITHDRAWALS.

10. WE HAVE CHANGED OUR ORIGINAL APPROACH IN ANOTHER IMPORTANT RESPECT AS WELL. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD FOCUS ON REDUCING GROUND FORCES. THE EXISTING IMBALANCE IN GROUND FORCES IS THE MAIN SOURCE OF INSTABILITY IN THE AREA. APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES IS THE ONLY BASIS FOR A STABLE AND ENDURING AGREEMENT. THE TOTALS OF AIR MANPOWER ON BOTH SIDES ARE IN ANY EVENT NEARLY EQUAL, THOUGH WITH A SLIGHT SUPERIORITY ON THE SIDE OF THE WARSAW PACT. NONETHELESS, IN ORDER TO MEET FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED CONCERNS OF THE EASTERN SIDE REGARDING AIR FORCES, WE HAVE OFFERED A MUTUAL COMMITMENT NOT TO INCREASE THE OVERALL LEVEL OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS IN

CONNECTION WITH A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT.

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11. THE EASTERN RESPONSE TO THESE WESTERN MOVES OVER THE LAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS HAS NOT BEEN WHAT WE WOULD HAVE HOPED FOR. THE EAST SO FAR HAS NOT TAKEN UP OUR OFFER TO EXCHANGE DATA. WHILE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES DISPUTE THE ACCURACY OF OUR FIGURES THEY HAVE PROVIDED NONE OF THEIR OWN, AND THEY HAVE EVEN REFUSED TO TELL US WHAT THEY THINK IF WRONG WITH OUR DATA. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE PUT FORWARD NO PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN FOR ASSOCIATED MEASURES, AND THEY HAVE NOT SO FAR BEEN WILLING TO ENTER INTO A DIALOGUE WITH US ON THE STABILIZING MEASURES WE HAVE PROPOSED.

12. ON OTHER POINTS, THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE NOT ONLY BEEN UNWILLING TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE CHANGES AND ADDITIONAL COMMITMENTS WE HAVE OFFERED TO MAKE IN OUR ORIGINAL POSITION IN AN EFFORT TO REACH A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT, BUT THEY HAVE ALSO NOT MADE ANY CHANGES IN THE MAIN SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS OF THEIR OWN ORIGINAL POSITION.

13. IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED THAT RECENT EASTERN PROPOSALS GO SOME WAY TOWARD MEETING THE WESTERN POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. IN FACT, HOWEVER, THESE VARIATIONS OF THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL AFFECT ONLY CERTAIN MODALITIES OF IMPLEMENTATION OF REDUCTIONS. THEY CONSTITUTE ONLY PROCEDURAL MODIFICATIONS WITHOUT SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT.

14. OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE ALSO, THE EASTERN SIDE IS STILL UNWILLING TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE DISPARITIES IN GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA. INSTEAD, IT CONTINUES TO ADHERE TO AN APPROACH WHICH WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF CONTRACTUALIZING THE PRESENT UNEQUAL RELATIONSHIP OF GROUND FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, EVEN IF AT LOWER LEVELS. THE WEST CANNOT AGREE TO BEING FROZEN INTO A POSITION OF ENDURING INFERIORITY IN GROUND FORCES. MOREOVER, THE EAST IS ALSO UNWILLING TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT, UNDER ANY AGREEMENT, IT WOULD ALSO HAVE GAINED AN IMPORTANT NEW ADVANTAGE. THIS IS THAT, WHEREAS THE TOTAL SIZE OF FORCES OF EAST AND WEST IN CENTRAL EUROPE WILL HAVE BEEN REDUCED AND LIMITED, THE TOTAL SIZE OF SOVIET FORCES LOCATED ON ITS TERRITORY WHICH IS IMMEDIATELY ADJACENT TO CENTRAL EUROPE

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WILL NOT HAVE BEEN LIMITED. IT IS TRUE THAT THE TOTAL SIZE OF US FORCES WILL NOT BE UNDER LIMITATION EITHER, BUT THE UNITED STATES IS 5,000 KILOMETERS AWAY. IT IS OUR POSITION THAT THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY REQUIRES THAT ACCOUNT BE TAKEN OF THESE ADVANTAGES WHICH FAVOUR THE EAST.

15. IN SUMMARY, IT IS CLEAR THAT, SO FAR IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, IT IS THE WEST WHICH HAS DEMONSTRATED REAL FLEXIBILITY. WE CONSIDER THAT OBJECTIVE BASES DO EXIST FOR RECONCILING THE DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS OF WEST AND EAST ON THE INDIVIDUAL ISSUES, AND WE THINK WE HAVE SHOWN THE WAY. BUT, IF WE ARE TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARDS AN AGREEMENT, WESTERN WILLINGNESS SHOWN TO MODIFY SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF ITS POSITION SHOULD BE ANSWERED BY EASTERN MOVES WHICH GENUINELY TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE BASIC WESTERN CONCERNS. WE HOPE THAT IN THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WILL BE IN A POSITION TO MATCH WESTERN MOVES IN WORKING TOWARD THE AGREED GOALS. END TEXT.RESOR

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